

OPINION, June 26, 1973

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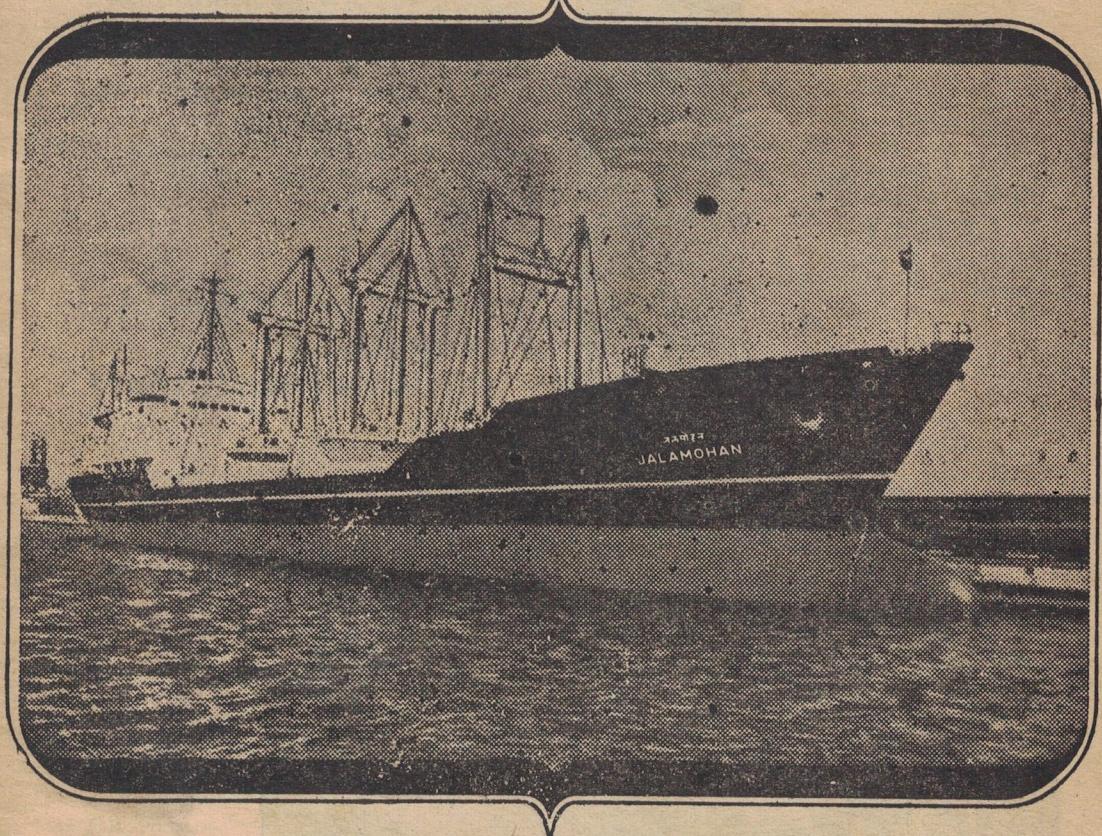
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TOVARISH NIXON

Most esteemed, most precious, most admirable Tovarish Richard,

To leave your shores without expressing my most heartfelt thanks for the great victory you have enabled me to win for our common cause—a victory as great for you in your real guise as for me—being impossible, I sit down at 4 a.m. to write to you. Truly are you the most wonderful of men; I cannot think of anyone else in today's world who comes closer to Lenin's ideal of the true Communist, the lover of the party and the cause, who does not mind what treachery or cruelty he does, what filth he crawls into or eats, so long as the cause is served. To betray his own country in our interest, to mislead his own people for our purpose, this is but normal conduct for any Communist; we of the third Rome do not regard that as exceptional. But to him who does that with the consummate skill you have shown, arousing not the least suspicion because of your long career of ostensible opposition to us and the cause, we bow deeply in congratulatory salutation. Amongst us as you know no virtue is regarded so highly as the capacity to deceive successfully the sharpest and most sensitive of those opposed to the cause. This virtue you have shown you possess in a most exceptional degree, for you seem to have taken in completely not only the ordinary people of your own and of most democratic countries, but also a very large number of even the shrewdest and most sceptical amongst them.

An end to the cold war, an end to anti-communism, how wonderful, they cry, scarcely waiting to reflect that from their own point of view both these mean a letting down of the guard that has kept them free from domination by us, a trusting in us and our good intentions for which we have given them no grounds at all. We are what we have always been, from the conventional point of view, evil, vicious, cruel oppressors of our own people and of the people of the countries we have been able to bring under us. Lenin often felt extreme severity was essential and never hesitated to apply it. Under Stalin, you know well what deeds we did. Khrushchev tried to repudiate him, to get away from him in some ways at least, and his fall came. We have been trying slowly, steadily to rehabilitate Stalin, for we realise that the genius of our Communist faith demands the ruthlessness, the deceptive capacity, the cold-blooded cynicism of that giant among men. Once again we have moved to individual leadership, the Vozhd, after some years of wandering in the collective void. I occupy the position now and not unworthily I hope you will say, considering the unprecedented success I, with your fullest co-operation and skilful support I acknowledge readily, have won for the cause.

A number of agreements have been signed between us, in almost all of which my side has made positive, substantial gains in return for pious words and aspirations. Co-operation of one kind and another, means you give, we take. Trade on credits and services advanced by you, means

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certain gain to us for giving up resources surplus to our needs. It also means strengthening us greatly in exactly those sections of our economy and technology where we are most behind, building up in fact our potential for mischief, should we intend that. You know well our ultimate aim remains today what it has always been, the world at our Communist feet. The world is delighted that we actually say we will not have nuclear wars. Obviously it would be self-destructive to have them, so we have avoided them all these years. Not much to rejoice at in a man saying he will not commit suicide. We, the Communists know we give up nothing when we say that, and if our opponents are rendered happy by these words, well so much the worse for them.

Truly the atmosphere of trust in us which you have so ably engendered is likely to prove a most valuable asset to us in the furtherance of our aims. What pleases me greatly is that we have not done the smallest thing to earn it. Just smiled at you and Kissinger, let out a few Jews, promised trade to a few big corporations, made cordial remarks to some senators and representatives, and lo and behold, the walls of Jericho have fallen. And this is only the beginning of the transformation you have brought about. Evil, be thou my good, you said, and evil became the good not only for you, but for your whole country. I look forward to your soon making it so for all your allies too, especially in Europe, so that in due course, the sickle and hammer can fly proudly over that whole continent, the seat of so many of the troubles of the world, and Soviet tanks roll as freely and unopposedly over the plains of France and the downs of England as they did in 1968 over all Czechoslovakia. My wonder at you and my gratefulness to you know no bounds. After you had given us India on a platter, I deemed you worthy to be 'Hero of the Soviet Union'. For your achievements now, I can think of no appropriate decoration. We must invent one, the highest, exclusively for you.

I earnestly trust in some small way, I too have been able to be of assistance to you. At the very least my visit may have taken most people's minds away from the Watergate affair in which unfortunately you seem to have got involved. The postponement of the Senate proceedings and Dean's evidence during my visit too may have been useful, giving you and yours some extra time for persuasion of various kinds. Also probably much less is likely to be heard about impeachment and resignation when Nixon appears in the role of the peace-maker, the abolisher of the fear of nuclear war, the trusted friend of Brezhnev and the builder of international understanding, the layer-open of a whole vast new market to American business. Dear companion-in-arms, do not hesitate to call upon me for any small service I can do to assist you in any awkwardness that may develop for you domestically. An adept am I at the creation of distractions; from moving ships to issuing statements, all timed exactly, none of the necessary ways are beyond me. I shall of course keep myself very well informed of all that goes on here, and help unostentatiously, but in case of need, just a word will be most welcome.

And now, once again I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the

very great service you have rendered not only to the Soviet Union and me but to our common cause, the victory of Communism and world-order under its aegis. Believe me.

Most sincerely, most cordially, most lovingly,
Your Leonid.

MR. JUSTICE KRISHNA IYER

ON June 24 *The Sunday Standard* published a UNI report to the effect that "Law Commission Member Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer, who is a judge of the Kerala High Court, is to be appointed a judge of the Supreme Court soon. Disclosing this to newsmen here today, Kerala Chief Minister C. Achutha Menon said that the Union Government had sought the concurrence of the State Governor and the Chief Justice of the Kerala High Court in this matter."

Mr. Menon's disclosure is highly objectionable. It is also improper on his part to presume to anticipate the concurrence of the Chief Justice of the Kerala High Court.

To come to the merits, the appointment of Mr. Justice Krishna Iyer to the Supreme Court would be fully in keeping with the Government of India's proclaimed policy of appointing only judges who approve of its "philosophy" and "outlook".

Mr. Justice Iyer was Minister for Law, Home, Irrigation and Power in the first Communist Ministry of Kerala (1957-59).

The following details about his career are enough to give a fair picture of his political "philosophy" and his political "outlook".

Recipient of the Soviet Land Nehru Award (1967) and "has been deeply involved in democratic movements such as the Peace Council, Democratic Lawyers' Association, Kerala Legal Aid and Advice Society, Indo-Soviet, Indo-GDR and Indo-Cuban friendship Organisations". With the possible exception of one, all these are well-known Communist front organisations. These details are correct. The quote is from the blurb of his collection of articles published, appropriately, by the Communist Party of India's publishing concern People's Publishing House.

While serving as a judge of a High Court Mr. Justice Iyer criticised publicly and with gross impropriety the Supreme Court's judgment in the Golak Nath case and also wrote an article in a pro-Communist weekly *Mainstream* of May 27, 1972 in support of the 25th Constitution Amendment.

Writing in *Mainstream* three years ago he expressed this view : "What we want is not to hire legal technicians on handsome remuneration or communal or party favourites but high-minded, public-spirited jurists with a positive social philosophy. Mr. Justice Dhawan of the Allahabad High Court (as he then was) once stressed publicly that 'a judge without prejudice is a judge without a mind . . . there would be no progress without the right kind of prejudice'."

The Government of India and Mr. Justice Iyer are evidently in happy rapport and have the same "kind of prejudice".

VARANASI VIGNETTE

*In the lower reaches of the sky
a lull of kites*

*But along the river
you can feel the sound
with your hands
roll it along your mouth,
You can tell the time of the day
by it and the sharpness of frost
and whether the night was a river
or a precipice.*

*Only the river doesn't speak here
she is thought itself—
a soundless interior monologue.*

*Tonsured heads explode along
the water-surface
bobbing up like emissaries
from a submerged reality.
For all is spider-thread ritual here
sandal-paste and mantra
chanting of the gayatri
shaved head and the pindan.
You go the rounds of the Panchtirath
starting from the ghat where Durga
had dropped a sword
to where she dropped an earring
and the Panchganga ghat where four rivers
are said to meet the ganges
like this river of faith going down
the stone-steps to meet the river.*

*Women do not take off their apparel
as they enter the water
men leave their clothes behind
the dead leave their bodies.*

*Kites hang in the air
in suspended animation
shadows hang like birds on a dead wind.*

*A blind man's fingers grope across my face
A sadhu eyes me unblinking from his navel.*

K. N. Daruwalla

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HOW SAD, THE WOMAN'S LOT

GAURI DESHPANDE

IT would seem that Mrs. Gandhi did the women of India a great disservice when she became our Prime Minister. We only have to open our mouths to say how the women in India are downtrodden and discriminated against, to have her thrown at our heads. Here, at last is a book* that not only documents a dismal catalogue of the ills of women here, but evokes great fellow-feeling in us by including therein two articles on the plight of West German women, so similar to our own.

The introduction by Kamala Bhasin is good—succinct and pointed without being pompous or verbose. It is like her other two articles inside—written with feeling and a fine anger. There are few things one wants to criticise about this book, and the main one is, it is not angry enough. Except for Bhasin, there is hardly any really felt anger in the writing. Perhaps these women were too interested in making a realistic and logical case, bolstered by dismal statistics and felt that anger here may sound hysterical; but I feel that a just and deeply felt anger against discrimination, injustice, exploitation is never out of place. It would have bolstered the heart-reaching value of the book if a couple of utterly spurious papers like Bhagwat and Abdullah had been left out and their place taken by the heated shouting of an irate woman who felt the sheer frustration of being born a female in a man's world, subject to his selfishness and dependent upon his favours for her very livelihood—someone who was not educated or scholarly or had a parade of impressive but dry-as-dust words at hand—like Rama Joshi.

The four main papers are all extremely well documented, and in the case of Kara and Mehra Masani, eye-openers. To put it in Kara's words: "All this presents a very dismal picture. The future seems to be very bleak, or one can say there is no future for this class, which is the most unorganised, exploited and downtrodden." The dismal picture in her paper is presented through tables showing a steadily declining rate of female employment and female wages. The same picture is presented by Hate. As she puts it, "In 1961 the proportion of women workers in this country was only 460 for one thousand male workers. Unfortunately this proportion has dwindled to 230 in 1971." She also goes on to prove that nowhere in the world is the world of gainfully employed people divided equally between men and women. Here, by gainfully, I mean either economically gainful to the individual working or generally gainful to the society for which he or she works. None of the women who have presented these papers have considered the possibility, no doubt distasteful to the traditionalist, that a woman who works from 8 to 12 hours a day at home

* *The Position of Women in India*, Ed. Kamla Bhasin; Leslie Sawney Programme of Training for Democracy and Friedrich-Namann-Stiftung. Rs. 15.00.

doing whatever chores fall her way ought to be actually paid some fixed wages by her husband or father or father-in-law, whoever is the out-of-doors wage earner in the family. This will make her not only an economically gainful worker in the community, it will have a tremendous effect on her morale, having her worth valued in actual money, and her work paid for.

The educational vicious circle is also well presented by Hate, Advani and others. As even the German women showed, when there is a choice to be made in a family about giving higher education to women, the parents hesitate. In India where education is mainly a matter of finance, it is invariably the male child that goes ahead; in spite of being more clever, more talented, even more ambitious, the girl child is left at home, helping mother do household chores and looking after the younger siblings. If you were imprudent enough to inquire the why of this situation, you would be given a multitude of reasons, ranging from how that dolt of a son is going to look after his parents in their old age, to how the girl will only benefit the husband's family with her education, so let them spend the money for it. No one seems to consider that they may be benefiting *her*, a person. And also quite often you are told the disgusting drivel that at her mother's side she is learning to be a woman. As though it is more important somehow that Mrs. Gandhi can cook and smile at her grandchildren than that she can govern one of the largest democracies in the world. This basically unchanging attitude to women as inferior and specially unfit human beings is brought out vividly in her studies by Kapur. One of the most thorough and also readable papers in the book, it gives rise to very disheartening thoughts. Especially if one doesn't set much store by the blah about how exalted women's status was in ancient India, this does seem indeed as the darkest continent where the progress towards a change in the attitude to women is concerned. For this, like the Germans I hold the women themselves responsible. They have neglected their duty to "bring up father (or brother, son, husband)" properly. They themselves go about submitting to the idiotic restrictions and limitations placed in their way, their protest is too diffuse and disorganised to be heard and there is nothing concrete that they would do (even a small thing like refusing to make the breakfast more than three times a week in a unit family) to assert their equality. In fact, women of my mother's generation felt that they somehow *had* to make an extra effort to prove their worth as housewives and mothers to divert adverse criticism from their careers. It was just not sufficient to have been one of the leading authorities in her field. Even women like Kapur give in to this attitude when they claim that 'For achieving marital well-adjustment, it is her ability to carry out her wife and mother roles successfully and satisfactorily, along with her working woman's role that is of vital importance.' Engel puts the whole matter much more satisfactorily: ". . . a parish elder who criticised the more or less unconcentrated behaviour of my youngest child during prayer-hours remarked: 'The MLA ought to make it her business to educate her children rather than to meddle in politics.' Nobody would ever think of passing such a remark in criticising a man."

As long as we still persist in regarding certain areas of work whether at home or outside as the exclusive pasture of women and their responsibility, there is no way of breaking out of this vicious circle. When even scholars like Kapur and Hate (she has remarked that teaching especially suits a woman's temperament ; it is one of the things I could hardly do for my seething impatience with the slower students) cannot easily get rid of such traditional concepts, it is difficult indeed not to despair. It only shows how deep go the ingrained prejudices of centuries, millennia ; and how careful we must be to evaluate practically every utterance we give vent to on the subject.

Masani's paper too, must be specially mentioned for she presents statistics that bust the bubble of complacency amongst those of us, so fond of pointing to the handful of women doctors and lawyers in the country. Taken all together, there are three and a half percent women in these fields. And, worse, there are more unemployed among the educated women than among the illiterate. And, apparently, as the level of education goes up, the level of employment falls. The most distressing of all, as Masani herself points out, is, "the large number of educated unemployed women who are not trying to find employment. According to the 1971 figures, out of a total of 1,70,000 unemployed women among degree holders, 90,000 were not trying to get jobs." This is 53 per cent of them, whereas the figures for men are 9 per cent.

More than being surprising and distressing, it points up a major flaw in the structure of our society. This flaw has barely been touched upon by these writers, and, I feel, deserves a great deal more attention. Can so much human waste be allowed or afforded simply to perpetuate certain myths beneficial to the male ego ? As Freulein Sperr puts it, "Women's work is not an end in itself. . ." The problem is so deep-rooted, that perhaps a few seminars and books are not much help. They are, of course a step in the right direction, but we must remember, as Bhasin says, that patience, forbearance and suchlike are not virtues when they are exercised in the continuation of wrongs. Women need, not patience and forbearance, but anger, revolution and courage. To anyone who has ever felt hopeful that things will naturally march towards betterment of everything and everyone once all were granted equality in law and the vote, I would strongly recommend a perusal of this revealing collection of papers which have been seriously, sadly and vehemently documented.

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HELL-BENT

Horse-sense was far from being his precious puss.
No, he was hell-bent upon sounding
The famous fathoms within.

But even though he tried out all the ruses
Those much coveted depths in there
Invariably gave him the boot.

At times, as a clever substitute he would rake
The glowing coals in his heart
To wake up to volcanic heat—and that

With a view to smelting the base ore of his thoughts
To rush miraculously headlong down the main arteries of
his town
Like the purest of molten gold, but without outcome.

As a consequence he was prone to nervous exhaustion.
O how from his few feet to squeeze out
The heady drops of the world-essence ?

Patently, here was one who lived
To the drum-beats of sheer unreason
The too ambitious rhythm,

Pathetically feeding the hypothetical white-crane of his soul
On a rich diet of rare feeling
And no oats of ground sense.

And all that for what?—nothing but a vague hope
Of her night-flight via the southern cross
The destination uncertain.

Keshav Malik

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PRESIDENT'S RULE IN U.P.

CONSTITUTIONALIST

THE imposition of President's rule in U.P. is not only a gross violation of the Constitution but registers an all time low in the debasement of the highest offices in the land, the Presidency and the Governorship.

The shabbiness of the entire affair is best revealed in the Government of India's deliberate decision to depart from precedent by withholding publication of the Governor's report immediately on the promulgation of the President's proclamation. The report will be published on July 23 when Parliament reassembles and publication can no longer be refused. By then, it is hoped, the widespread anger which the decision has aroused will have died down.

The facts are not in dispute. The Provincial Armed Constabulary of the State revolted. The crisis lasted three days from May 21 to 23. It is undeniable that the State Government had long turned a deaf ear to the PAC's legitimate complaints. Faced with the revolt it took Central assistance and the army quelled the revolt. At a press conference on May 31 an unperturbed Mr. Kamalapati Tripathi said that he was "definitely not resigning" as Chief Minister since there was "no case for it".

On June 12 the Chief Minister handed over his resignation to the Governor, Mr. Akbar Ali Khan. Mr. Tripathi was under no threat of being thrown out by the State's legislature. Why, then, did he resign?

Curiously, the main reason the Chief Minister advanced, both, in his letter of resignation and in his press statements was the PAC's revolt. Reminded of his statement of May 31, a week after the revolt in which he had ruled out a resignation, Mr. Tripathi said "It had been in my heart and mind for some time that because something (PAC trouble) had happened with very wide repercussions, some very effective measures were needed to mend things". He added "a situation had arisen in which in the larger interests of the State and the nation, I should not continue in office for the present". In sum, as he told the reporters immediately after handing in his resignation, he had taken the step solely to discharge his "moral responsibility" for the situation arising from the PAC's revolt.

In that event, surely, the logical course for him, besides resigning as Chief Minister, was to resign as leader of the Congress Party in the Legislature as well. This he has studiously avoided doing. The excuse he trotted out for the Party not electing another leader was that it "was not immediately possible, for a meeting of the legislature party would have been necessary." (*The Hindustan Times*, June 13). Evidently, neither Mr. Tripathi nor the Governor have heard of a care-taker Ministry.

Whatever be the propriety of the course Mr. Tripathi adopted, the Governor's duty in the circumstances was plain. He ought simply to have

accepted Mr. Tripathi's resignation and called upon the Congress Legislature Party to elect a leader to whom the State's administration could be entrusted. If the Party refused, the Governor ought to have called upon the Opposition despite the fact that it did not command a majority since, as the British constitutional maxim goes, the Queen's Government must go on. Such a minority Government would have asked for and should have been granted a dissolution of the legislature. Instead, Mr. Khan reported to the President that *the constitutional machinery* in the State had broken down, which was patently false. "Is there a breakdown of constitutional machinery in U.P.?" Mr. Tripathi was asked on June 10. He confidently answered "The constitutional machinery in U.P. is as strong as ever". What difference did his resignation two days later make to the *constitutional machinery*?

Mr. Tripathi's answer was that he had resigned, and *would not* form another Government. Nor *could* any one in the Opposition. Q.E.D. Incredibly this brazen perverseness was readily accepted by the pliant Governor. Addressing a press conference on June 15, he said "the leader of the majority party had resigned as Chief Minister and he still continued to be the leader with none in the party staking the claim to form the Government. No Opposition party or combination of parties was in a position to form an alternative Government. So there was no viable alternative." (*The Hindustan Times*, June 16).

The reasoning is fallacious. If the majority Party *would not* run the administration the Opposition should be given the mandate. Undoubtedly, it would ask for a dissolution and in the circumstances the request should be granted immediately. This was the proper course and, incidentally, the best way to teach the likes of Mr. Tripathi a lesson. Strangely enough the Governor recommended, not a dissolution of the Legislature, which was a logical result of his stand, but its mere suspension temporarily.

Of course, if the Uttar Pradesh Governor had been a man who might have been suspected of having regard for constitutional proprieties, Mr. Tripathi would not have taken the risk of resigning. The resignation was a part of a big *tamasha* in which Mr. Khan willingly agreed to play a minor role, even if it was one hardly consistent with the dignity of his office.

The Prime Minister had demanded a reshuffle of the U.P. Ministry. The Chief Minister refused. So, a cynical "formula" was decided upon which is best stated in the words of Mr. S. Viswam: "After an interregnum of two months during which political pulls and pressures would stabilise, President's rule could be revoked and Mr. Tripathi could return to office with a group of Ministers excluding those Mrs. Gandhi wanted to be dropped. Had Mr. Tripathi accepted Mrs. Gandhi's suggestions for ousting five Ministers from the Cabinet, President's rule might have been avoided. But till the last Mr. Tripathi maintained that it would be unethical for him to drop Ministers against whom he had no complaint and that, if some had to go, all should go. Also, till the last day he expected his Cabinet colleagues to come forth with an alternative to President's rule which, in the circumstances, could only be voluntary resignations by the Ministers concerned."

They did not resign. So the "formula" had to be implemented. Mr. Tripathi gave the game away at his press conference on June 12. As *The Statesman's* Lucknow correspondent reported: "The retiring Chief Minister's bitterest comment came when asked whether it was constitutional for him to resign and whether a situation had arisen under the Constitution under which President's rule had become unavoidable. 'Ask him who imposes President's rule'." He might have said 'her' instead of 'him'.

The point is that whatever device Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Tripathi had hit upon as politicians, it was no function of the heads of State, the President and the Governor, to lend their assistance at all. The more so if the assistance entailed conniving at a breach of the Constitution.

The breach is so patent that the connivance stands proved *ipso facto*. Article 356(1) (a) of the Constitution reads: "If the President on receipt of a report from the Governor of a State or otherwise, is satisfied that a situation has arisen *in which the Government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution*, the President may by Proclamation—

- (a) assume to himself all or any of the functions of the Government of the state. . . ."

No such situation can be said to have arisen and a report to that effect by the Governor, as well as the President's "satisfaction" that the situation existed, are manifestly, demonstrably untrue.

In the Constituent Assembly Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Ayyar explained the import of the Article in these words: "If responsible government as contemplated by the Constitution functions properly, the Union cannot and will not interfere."

In the present case the Union instigates the Chief Minister commanding a legislative majority to resign and thus create a problem, and then takes over the State on the ground that the Constitutional machinery had broken down, which, of course, was far from correct.

Mrs. Gandhi's negotiations with Mr. Tripathi were public knowledge. But the President and the Governor deliberately shut their eyes to the fact that the Central leadership was cooking up a crisis in the State. In clear breach of their duties as heads of the Union and the State, respectively, they lent their assistance to Mrs. Gandhi so that she might accomplish her political ends. President's rule has often been imposed without justification in the past. But never more cynically than it has been now in Uttar Pradesh.

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Today at Mithapur, young India, conscious of the past, urged on by the present, confidently dreams of a glorious tomorrow.

Their immediate dream is of a new complex—massive, self-sustaining, long-range and innovative—harnessing the sea, the sun and ultimately the atom to banish hunger from their land and to generate greater economic self-sufficiency, more and more independence.

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Heraclitus watched
each concentric circle move
round its own remote focus.

The comets alone have lungs,
for while they skate on the rink
they also watch their breaths
emblazon their trajectories.

The deadman's stare is a crystal ;
in the skull's secret chambers
thoughts are rats
scurrying elsewhere.

Immortality is born of flux.
'Time, gentlemen—time, please.'
'Who's next in the queue
for black bread ?'

Shiv K. Kumar

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blemishes. That's how
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complexion flawless, and
keeps you fresh all day.

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SELF-SUFFICIENCY STILL

THE Soviet campaign for *detente* with the West, reflected in the talks for a Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) and Mutual Balanced Force Reductions (MBFRs), has been accompanied by optimistic accounts of the prospects for increased East-West economic co-operation and massive joint development projects involving Soviet resources. The question posed by these developments is whether the continuing poor performance of the Soviet economy, both industrially and agriculturally, has necessitated a change in political attitudes and an abandonment of the doctrine of economic self-sufficiency.

Since its inception in 1922, the Soviet State has proclaimed a goal of self-sufficiency, and the inordinate sums of investment and other resources now devoted to agriculture reflect the same pre-occupation. Because of the sheer size of the economy, the Soviet administrators were able to attain rapid growth rates by concentration on centrally-determined key industrial sectors. By Western standards, the USSR has always functioned under a wartime economic regime. In the decade following the Second World War, the dream of economic autarky appeared to be within reach. Under Stalin, the expansion of the Communist bloc to include Eastern Europe and China offered the possibility of creating a self-contained alternative to the capitalist economic world. However, this failed to materialise and pressures mounted for a more efficient use of production factors and intensive development of domestic economies. At the same time the increasing expectations of consumers, who had taken a secondary place in the scheme of development, began to be felt. Under Khrushchev and the present Soviet leadership, these pressures led to a series of reforms and experiments with the administrative and economic structure. More recently, added impetus was given to plans to make the economy more efficient by the realisation that the USSR was falling behind in modern technological innovations.

A comparison of the growth rates of the Soviet Union with even its East European partners reveals that these reforms have made little impact on performance. According to the latest ECE Economic Survey for Europe, the average 1972 growth rate for national income for the East European States was just over 7 per cent. The Soviet figure was under 4 per cent. The 1972 harvest difficulties and the poor industrial performance have doubtless placed the Soviet economy under strain. As a result the doctrine of autarky seems to have undergone some modification —though there is an unwillingness to permit outside participation in what are regarded as the strategic sectors of the economy.

Much has been made of the 1972 agricultural failure and the need to import grain from American and Canadian sources. Certainly the scale of the 1972-73 imports was much above those of the early 1960s, and the signs are that the USSR will continue to import around 5 million tons of grain a year to build up stocks and meet regional shortages. But even though last year's purchases broke with tradition, agriculture continues to receive high political and investment priorities. The 1973 harvest target

of 197 million tons is the highest ever and there are no signs that the Soviet leadership has abandoned the idea of self-sufficiency in this sector despite its enormous financial and organisational costs. Large-scale irrigation and reclamation programmes are in progress and fertiliser production and livestock programmes continue to receive emphasis. Should the 1972 conditions recur, the Soviet leadership would clearly make up deficiencies by imports, but there is no indication that the USSR would go the way of most other industrialised States and rely on imported foodstuffs to meet consumer needs.

In recent months much publicity has been given in both the Soviet and Western Press to the possibilities of joint development projects in the USSR, including deals involving American participation in oil and gas extraction. Many such schemes had been discussed with West European and Japanese firms for several years before the emergence of American interest. For example, the exploitation of the rich copper deposits at Udkan in Siberia was discussed with a succession of British, French and Japanese companies and still remains unfinalised. The Kama River lorry factory has a similar history, with American, French, German and British manufacturers being offered stakes. Several successful co-operation deals have been made, such as the Fiat car factory at Togliatti, the Renault/Moskvich works at Izhevsk and the Polyspinners construction of synthetic fibre plants at Mogilev, Sumgiat and other towns. But most of these have been geared to the production of consumer goods—so far there are no examples of successful joint exploitation of raw material deposits.

Yet it is in this area that the most tempting offers are now being made—export of West Siberian natural gas to the United States and construction of an oil pipeline to the East coast using Japanese and American expertise and credit. Should these deals materialise, however, they would not affect the Soviet pursuit of self-sufficiency. The USSR would profit by gaining access to resources it could not hope, given the state of its technology, to develop for many years (while the Americans and Japanese would themselves become more dependent on Soviet gas and oil). The Soviet Union would still have ample stocks of these resources to meet its domestic needs for the foreseeable future and would lose only the convertible currency proceeds from sales should the project fall through.

Hopes that an expansion of East-West trade will lead to a lessening of Moscow's doctrine of autarky and an opening up of the Soviet economy are not borne out by the figures. Only some 5 per cent of Soviet GNP is accounted for by foreign trade and only a fifth of this is trade with developed Western economies. Over 60 per cent of Soviet trade is with CMEA partners and the development of the "Complex Programme" indicates that there is little possibility that this ratio will change. As a bloc, the CMEA States accounted for only 3.3 per cent of the total foreign trade of developed Western countries in 1971, although they produced one third of world industrial output. The future financing of imports is a factor which will seriously inhibit a rapid growth in trade. It has been estimated that in the period 1966-71, the Soviet Union had a visible trade deficit with hard currency trading partners of about 1,400 million dollars. Since

the structure of Soviet main exports to these partners is similar to that of a semi-developed country—raw materials, semi-processed goods and fuels—a rapid increase of sales is unlikely. Thus future expansion will have to be financed either by gold sales—anathema to many Soviet administrators—or by Western credits. In the latter case, there will certainly be a limit as to how long these will be advanced. The signature of the US/Soviet Trade Agreement and the public pronouncements of American businessmen have given the impression that trade between the two countries will boom. But in 1971 only 0.7 per cent of American trade was with the USSR and it will take several years to show any appreciable rise. Presumably, any expansion would be at the expense of existing West European partners. This continuing ability to switch trade by means of the State's monopoly position in its administration of external relations emphasises the difficulty in breaching the barrier of self-sufficiency from the outside.

Nevertheless, there are some areas where the USSR appears willing to concede a measure of its reliance on domestic production. Soviet public statements since early 1965 (and most recently in *Pravda* on May 16) have indicated a readiness to give up the idea, cherished in Khrushchev's day and incorporated in the Party Programme, of leading the world in all the main branches of science and technology. The new approach is that "science has outgrown national boundaries" and that it is impossible for any one country to achieve the highest standards in all fields. Most of these statements have been made in the context of improving the integration process of CMEA, but they also imply a willingness to borrow technology from the West on a long term basis. This borrowing would be mainly directed towards areas of consumer-oriented technology, although there have been indications in the wake of Brezhnev's visit to Bonn that the Russians would be interested in acquiring Western technology in other sectors. Supply of such equipment, however, would be dependent on availability of finance and on Western strategic embargoes, and certainly the USSR would continue to concentrate its own and CMEA efforts on sectors which it considers vital to its own strategic interests. It would also be justified on the basis of Lenin's remark that: "We must be clever enough, by relying on the peculiarities of the capitalist world and exploiting the greed of the capitalists for raw materials, to extract from it such advantages as will strengthen our economic position—however strange this may appear—among the capitalists".

Although the Russians emphasise the theme of economic inter-dependence and the complementary nature of Eastern and Western economies, they seem to show no willingness to reform or reduce the autarkic character of their own economy. Imports of grain, when necessary, and of Western technology, in limited fields, will doubtless continue and be used to project the image of an outward-looking Soviet Union. But the process of CMEA integration continues and the co-operation of Western consortia in advancing Euro-currency loans to the organisation may well mean that its plans for monetary integration will be achieved before the 1980 target date set in the "Complex Programme".

MY GRANDFATHER'S DEATH

They didn't nail down the lid
of the coffin, in front of us.
Nobody insisted I throw gravel.
They left him a little while
in the quiet February sun.
They were kind.
They didn't frighten anyone
make anyone feel how they'd
suffocate there
though they were dead.
Thirty years ago they
buried my father there.
That was a different kind of
death. They didn't know
I often asked, "what have they
done to my daddy?" and that
nobody could explain.

Eunice de Souza



DO YOU DREAM IN COLOUR?

If you live in a world of
dreams dotted with greens and
golds; if you see yourself
in patterns of startling beauty;
if you want to stop the
world for a bold, dramatic
moment, come to us.

See our designs. Feel our
flowing textures. And discover,
that beautiful colours
don't belong only in dreams.

BOMBAY DYEING

ASPECTS OF COMMUNIST CHINESE AID

STUDENT

CHINA has followed up her diplomatic successes in Africa by signing economic and technical co-operation agreements, for the first time, with several countries—Dahomey, Ghana, Nigeria, Rwanda, Togo and Zaire. In the case of Togo and Dahomey these agreements were signed simultaneously with the agreements to establish diplomatic relations. That with Zaire was signed during the visit of President Mobutu, only two months after diplomatic ties were established between Peking and Kinshasa. Chinese experts are now active in many countries, mainly carrying out surveys for agricultural or light industrial projects. Medical teams are also very active.

In Latin America a new offer of credit was made to Chile and further details have become known of projects to be undertaken in the sub-continent. In Asia, additional aid has been promised to Nepal, North Vietnam, Sri Lanka and the Royal Government for the National Union of Cambodia (RGNUC).

The country's leaders stress China's limitations as an aid donor due to her own comparatively backward economy. Chou En-lai, speaking at a banquet for the Sri Lanka Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, on June 29 last year, said: "We consider it our bounden internationalist duty to support and assist Afro-Asian countries in developing their national economies. However, as China's economy is still comparatively backward, the material aid we provide is limited" (NCNA, June 26, 1972). In January this year, Chou En-lai told a visiting Japanese delegation that Chinese aid was centred on the agricultural and light industries and would not compete with Japanese assistance to Africa and the southern hemisphere which concerned heavy industries.

Addressing the United Nations Economic and Social Council on July 6, 1972, the Chinese representative, Wang Jun-sheng, elaborated on China's eight principles of aid-giving, expounded by Chou En-lai in 1964. He attacked those countries which: "in the name of 'economic aid' or 'international division of labour' make the recipient countries develop their economies in a lop-sided way and reduce the economies of the recipient countries to a dependent and subordinate position serving the economies of their own countries". Wang referred to a "new type of international economic relations" in which China, as a member of the Third World, wished to participate (*Peking Review*, July 14, 1972).

Chinese broadcasts speak of the alleged exploitation of Third World countries, under the cover of aid, by the super-powers—the United States and the Soviet Union. A broadcast by the PLA Fukien Front Radio on December 4, 1972, accused the Soviet Union of carrying out economic infiltration and expansion in the vast regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America by means of deceitful tricks: "In the Middle East and North Africa alone, it has provided thousands of millions of dollars in economic

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aid to some countries, exported large amounts of capital to these countries, and has plundered their petroleum and other important resources through technical assistance and by signing petroleum and other agreements. Under the signboard of military assistance, it has turned the Middle East into a market place for dumping military hardware, thereby seizing many naval and air bases".

A Peking Radio home service broadcast on February 6, 1973, describing the opposition of the developing countries to "economic hegemony and control" by the Super-Powers, said: "The imperialist and the social-imperialist countries have also used so-called aid as a means of demanding special privileges, so that they can act as overlords in issuing commands and orders, in interfering in other countries' internal affairs, in infringing their sovereignty, and in plundering their resources".

[Who, after all, can know better the hearts and minds of imperialists and social-imperialists than a fellow imperialist-cum-social imperialist, of the Super-Power Governments than a Government on the point of becoming a Super-Power? Take then these warnings seriously, oh people of a country which too could have been a Super-Power, but chose instead ignominy and inferiority, and in addition, flung itself headlong into the nursing arms of the most vicious and blatant totalitarian tyranny in the world.—Ed.]

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OPINION, June 26, 1973

AHMEDNAGAR INTERIOR

Old black Deccan rock. Red earth
 Lava beneath the sun. Brown winds,
 A foliage of sparrows.

Steel dust swept sky ; shale glints
 like powdered glass where fields waved.

A waste of trees
 And weeping banyans

Through a glazed glass recalling
 Those poplars, whisper of ice
 cold streams, fields rich with rice, those
 Mountain massifs in Kashmir
 Barricading such drought.

Siddharth Kak

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TEACH THEM NO SUPERSTITION

Y. A. RAIKAR

HOW to influence our children so that they develop bold open minds, free from inhibitions and prejudices, is one of our problems. Under the stress and strain of modern life, parents are able to do little, and the children continue to be guided by external forces beyond anybody's control.

But there is one thing at least which thinking guardians could do. They could make it a point not to teach any superstitions to their children. Generally it is the elders who induct certain blind beliefs into children's minds and cause lasting damage to them.

To be superstitious is a human weakness arising out of man's fear and ignorance of the Unknown. We begin to indulge in superstitions because they are part of our unscrutinised way of life. Our view of superstitions is partly ethical and partly casual. Some we take as religiously binding and others as harmless beliefs, common to a group or peculiar to an individual.

Certain astronomical phenomena and particular days are prescribed as auspicious or unauspicious. This is treated almost as a moral commandment. One who does not abide by it is said to have no scruples or *vidhi-nishedha* as it is put. This weakness prevents many from taking right action at right times. A historian once said that it would be possible to point out numerous battles lost by the Marathas, simply because they were guided by such considerations rather than by strategy.

Casual superstitions are plentiful, such as those associated with cat, jackal, owl, dog and so on. They are considered as omens good and bad. Dreams are said to anticipate future events; numbers are made lucky and unlucky. All such apparently innocuous beliefs undermine self-confidence and discourage self-reliance.

However, the worst kind of superstitions are those that spread prejudices and encourage uncharitable attitudes causing injustice. In this category fall the superstitions connected with widows, childless women and persons with certain physical deformities. What type of minds do we intend to develop by injecting these germs?

Children come under the impact of superstitions in the household itself. They borrow these from the elders and among themselves invent some new ones. Once acquired, the beliefs go deep into the subconscious and continue to function as psycho-generic forces or *samskaras*. Thus at a latter stage it becomes hard to fight them, when someone wants to get rid of them. And very few are likely to make a conscious effort in that direction. Therefore, superstitions become personal inhibitions arresting the growth of individuality, and barriers to the acquiring of science as an attitude of mind.

Why not then try to save the children from this evil? It may be answered, of course, we shall do it, but others in the family may not. Yet, some of them will be nipped in the bud and at least we will not be a party to their spread.

CRISIS OF THE JUDICIARY

A. G. NOORANI

IT is undeniable now that nothing has so disturbed the people generally, and the legal profession in particular, as the Government of India's decision to supersede three senior judges of the Supreme Court. No one was convinced by the reasons advanced in support of the step. But far worse followed. The Government of India claimed that it had 'absolute power' to make appointments to the Bench and further, that, in the exercise of such power, it would appoint judges whose 'philosophy' and 'outlook on life' it approved.

Such pronouncements cannot but affect the high prestige the judiciary has always had in this country. In such a situation it is indeed unfortunate that judges should make pronouncements which are both, improper and injurious to the dignity of their office. Two recent instances deserve public notice.

The *Times of India* and the *Free Press Journal*, both of 22nd June, 1973, carried reports of the remarks made by Mr. Justice Vaidya on June 14, 1973.

'Mr. Justice Vaidya and Mr. Justice DUDHIA were hearing a writ petition filed by Bhogilal Laherchand, challenging the validity of acquisition of 72 acres of the petitioner's lands at Vashi village for purposes of development of the site of New Bombay.'

The pertinent portion of the report reads :

"During the course of the arguments, the decision of the Supreme Court in the Privy Purses Case was cited and Mr. Justice Vaidya had observed that it had been overruled.

"When it was pointed out that the cited decision was still good law he passed remarks to the effect that the decision should be overlooked because it had been delivered by Judges committed to property."

Mr. Justice Vaidya's comments were, surely, most improper and were in breach of Article 141 of the Constitution which says, 'The law declared by the Supreme Court shall be binding on all courts within the territory of India.'

No less improper were the remarks of a political nature made at Hyderabad on June 20 by Mr. T. Lakshminarayana Reddi, Special Judge for anti-corruption cases, while acquitting a former IGP of Andhra Pradesh and his deputy on charges of graft.

The Hindustan Times of June 22 published a PTI report of his remarks which reads thus :

"Mr. Reddy, in his judgment said that in a capitalist society some relatives of persons in high office, taking advantage of their relationship, were able to earn money disproportionate to the labour they put in. The law in the present capitalist structure of society, he said, was inadequate to curb this evil.

'Hence the necessity of hastening of ushering in a socialist pattern of society, the judge added.'"

Such pronouncements from the Bench, unfortunate at any time, are much more so in the present circumstances of the proclamation by Government of a pernicious policy in regard to judicial appointments, its objective being nothing short of a packed judiciary committed to the support of Government's political and economic policies.

The *Hindu* published, on June 21, a very revealing despatch by its correspondent Mr. G. K. Reddy under the apt headline "Government likely to Select 'Responsive' Judges".

He wrote :

"Before the Supreme Court reopens next month after the summer vacation, the Government will have to make up its mind about the procedure to be followed for filling up the vacancies on the bench in the light of the recent controversy over the appointment of the new Chief Justice of India by superseding his three senior colleagues.

"There are nearly 40 vacancies on the benches of various High Courts and with the resignations of Mr. J. M. Shelat, Mr. K. S. Hegde and Mr. A. N. Grover, there are now four vacancies of Judges in the Supreme Court, and the judiciary itself is anxious to know how the Government will proceed in making these appointments.

"There are nearly 40 vacancies on the benches of various High Courts which will have to be filled on the basis of the new norms laid down by the Government for making these judicial appointments. It is inclined to maintain for the present a reasonable balance between the existing conventions and the exigencies of social change.

"After the indignant public reaction to the recent suppression of three senior Supreme Court Judges, the Ruling Congress does not want to go in for a committed judiciary all at once. But it is determined to exercise greater control over the appointment of Judges to make the judiciary more responsive to the social needs of the people, without taking too legalistic a view of the laws enacted for achieving these objectives in consonance with the directive principles of the Constitution.

"The idea is to place the judiciary on a sort of probation, as it were, by making selective appointments of new Judges the significance of which would not be lost on their colleagues—and give them all ample opportunity to reform themselves, before further steps are taken to change their social outlook and make them fall in line with the wider aspirations of the people. The accent now is on a more sophisticated approach to prod the judiciary to respond with greater understanding of the Government's commitments to the people, instead of resorting to frontal action to compel the Judges to be more helpful in their judicial pronouncements."

After discussing the contemplated changes in the procedure for making judicial appointments Mr. Reddy concluded :

"An effort is being made to streamline the procedures for making judicial appointments and ensuring that the judiciary is more responsive to the social objectives of the Government."

Few will be fooled by the euphemism or accept the implied innuendo against the present judiciary. But the report confirms the fear that the Government is determined to undermine the independence of the judiciary.

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